301 All the women and girls, except the slaves, wear a sort of cotton
291 hose which is woven onto the leg itself from above the ankle to the calf of the leg. This is extremely binding, especially when new. Above the calf they bind another band of the same material, also woven onto the leg, so that the calf is bulged from both sides. At the bottom of this hose is a border or hem two or three fingers wide made of reeds, or, like most of them, of tortoise shell. When this hose is new and wet, it hurts the women. They are careful to coat it on the outside with oil and annatto so that water will not penetrate. They wet themselves as little as possible. When they embark in
481 canoes, their husbands carry them. But you would never guess how they cross streams without wetting their legs. She who has the biggest or least uncomfortable hose, or even a man who has none, takes a woman by the feet and pulls her along after him or her while the one with the tight hose follows propped against his or her behind while walking on her hands.

[61] CHAPTER V

The Foods They Eat

242 I do not think there is a nation in the rest of the world which eats less well than this one, although they have here the means to eat well. But what is the difference since they are healthy, fat, and robust without these delicacies.

[231] They do not keep cows, sheep, goats, nor pigs, and they never eat them at home, although there are a great many pigs on Dominica; neither do they eat fowl, chicken eggs, butter, cheese, milk, oil,
[243] or fat. They salt nothing when they eat among themselves. When they visit us, they eat almost anything, although those who have children abstain, as we shall see in the next chapter. At home, they eat tortoise and white tortoise eggs, but not the yellow ones, certain
● 252 birds, and crabs. They never cook well what they eat, especially the crabs. They cook the birds whole, after having burned the feathers, on small sticks arranged a little above the fire. Once cooked, they wrap them in leaves and smoke them. When they are ready to eat them, they hollow them out and boil them in manioc juice with

● 2[illegible]pimento, and they prepare other things in this manner. They make a certain sauce with which they eat everything. They throw the bones of the fish they have eaten into a pot with a handful of pimento, manioc juice, and the finest flour, mix all this together and dip their bread and meat in it. They call that a tomaly [somali]. The best of it is that there is always some old woman's hair and a bit of annatto in this, for they are extremely dirty. Their bread is nothing more [273] than cassava, fresh every day; their drink is ouicou, made of cassava and water. Sometimes they press pineapples or sugar cane and drink the juice, as they do water mixed with honey. In eating, they do [274] not consider it impolite to belch.

[275] They have only one regular meal a day, in the morning as soon as it is day. The rest of the day, they eat when they want to and when they have something to eat; they are always ready. The men eat apart in the large carbet, and the women and their children in their small huts.

276 They scarcely use tobacco for smoking, but they dry it at the fire, then grind it into powder, mix it with a little sea water and put it between the lip and the gum. This is very strong.

CHAPTER VI

Their Marriages and The Education of Their Children

572 As there is no police nor any laws among the Caribs, they have no certain rule for their marriages. There is no kinship prohibition. If they restrain themselves in some cases, as between parents and their children or between brothers and sisters, it is more by the powerful movement of nature that they are held back than by reason of piety or continence. There are some who, notwithstanding the voice of nature, have joined with their daughters and have had children by them, and there have been mothers who have married their sons. But those cases are usually very rare. Therefore, parents do not unite with their children, nor brothers with their sisters. A man's first [female] cousin, by his mother's sister, belongs to him; those who are daughters of brothers are considered to be sisters. Some men marry two sisters, some a mother and a daughter.

342 On top they put sloping rafters which reach to the ground, and cover everything with palm leaves or reeds. One can see nothing inside except by the light of the fire or by the hole through which they enter, [356] which is 2 or 3 cubits high. The women clean the huts, and the boys clean the carbet and the space around it. During the day the men eat and talk in the carbet, and at night they retire to the small huts to sleep.

513 Their hammocks are nothing more than large pieces of woven 352 cotton which the women make on a sort of draper's loom, 3 or 4 ells [349] wide and 5 or 6 feet long. They leave little ribbons on the two ends, to which they attach stronger ribbons made of pita, and then attach these in turn to a larger cord also made of pita. They hang the beds by means of these cords in the middle of their huts to two forks and they sleep gently and comfortably. They make small and large ones. They carry the hammocks wherever they must spend the night. The French use them commonly. Since these hammocks are easily portable, they do not clutter up the houses, and they fold easily and are stowed away conveniently. Some are brought to us from the mainland (besides those we trade with the Caribs for); the English and Portugese also make them. The Caribs paint theirs in Moresque [534] patterns with a black that never fades. Those of the mainland savages are also painted similarly.

501 After talking of their lodgings and beds, a word must be said of the boats they use at sea. We call them pirogues, they name them kanaoa [canaoa]. These are made from large trees which they hollow out with fire, as well as with hatchets, and finish with adzes. They then shape the outside in the form proper for navigation. Because they are low, they build them up by attaching boards all around with liana, which serves them [63] as cord, and caulk them with folded mahot bark. They tie poles across to serve as benches while they row. They make these boats in all sizes. Those they call canaoa are what we call pirogues and are never less than 25 or 30 feet and go up to 50 or 60 feet. Others, which we call canoes and they kouliala, are of all sizes under 25 feet, some so small as to carry only one man for fishing. The canaoa are not pointed like those of the French, for they cut off the end and seal it with a board. They carry up to 40 and 50 persons with baggage. Big ones use two sails, and small ones a single sail. They row with small oars about like

baskets with two weaves filled with custard-apple tree leaves between, and which are impenetrable by rain. There are also hébechets [or: ibichets], which are the sacks through which they strain their manioc flour. Also, there is the couleuvre [lit: 'adder'—because of its snake-like shape?—Ed.], a kind of arm-long sock to press the flour in. They attach the top to a peg and from the bottom roll a staff which they weigh down heavily, either by sitting on it or otherwise, and in no time their flour is dry. Others make matoutous, which are their tables. They are low, some round, some square, a little higher than a cassava. All this small handiwork which we have mentioned is made of certain large rushes that they call oualomam [oualloman] that they dry and split into long, thin strips and paint black or red before using them. The red is from annatto, the black is from [65] the gum tree or the sandalwood which they burn. So that the dyes will be fast, they dissolve the second bark of a certain tree in water, which gives a strong liquid glue. They wet the reeds with this, then put on their annatto or black, then rub the reeds again with the gluey water. After drying in the sun, the paint never comes off. Others among them make belts; others fishing lines and so forth. When they go to bed, they always make a fire beneath their beds.

The Labors of The Women

The women are almost slaves of the men. They provide them with food and drink, take care of the children, and follow them everywhere to prepare their food.

As soon as they get up, they also go to bathe. Then they begin to scrape and shred manioc, make bread for breakfast, and prepare whatever they have for their husbands. Breakfast over, the women go to work. Some go to their gardens to plant manioc or sweet potatoes with a pointed stick, since they do not use hoes; others weed. The men do not trouble at all with that. The women who stay at the hut make cotton hammocks or make oil to rub or grease their husbands' hair with. They make this oil from a seed which they call couſheu. They first let the seed rot, then dry it over the fire, then knead it between their hands, often spitting on it. Then they put it in the sun for a while and afterwards throw it in their couleuvres and press it to squeeze out the oil. They also make oil from the

396 "I have enlarged my canoe." When the log is hollowed out they turn the opening downward and make a fire beneath it. This makes the opening larger. Then they force a stout stick across it and spread the sides. They stop when it is the right size. [115]

501 Pirogues, called canaoa, are the galleons of the Caribs. They are 60 feet long more or less. They are raised on the sides with planks. They hold crews of fifty to sixty men and even more. The distance between gunwales in the middle is eight to ten feet, and they have 484 two very large and wide sails. They travel 200 to 300 leagues on 439 the sea, and go as far as Cayenne and Surinam to join the Galibis who are their allies, either to barter their goods and bring back other kinds, or to form an army to attack the Arawaks who are their enemies. [108]

●[253] They carry grated flour in bundles in their canoes. When they arrive at a place they press it and cook it. It is sometimes very sour when it is old. [264]

000 The French have learned from the Caribs how to dig out logs and make canoes, but they did not learn how to paddle and steer them, nor did they learn how to jump into the sea to right them when they have capsized. The Caribs are not afraid of capsizing, of wetting their clothes, or of losing everything and drowning. But the French for the most part are afraid of all these things, and do not wish to lose all their belongings from the canoe or risk their lives, for they have seen fatal accidents happen very often. [331]

396 In the islands worms pierce the hulls of boats so that after two 314 years it is necessary to line them again or abandon them. [162] The Caribs take branches or sticks of mahot and peel off the bark which they crush with a stone. Then they cut it in pieces as long as a hand, and use it as oakum to calk the seams of their canoes. Sometimes they add gum instead of pitch, but not very often. [164] To make elemi gum they slash a chibou tree. The next day they collect the gum which flows out abundantly. The Caribs use it to tar their pirogues and make from it a beautiful black which they call cōina [185] Máne noumánien is a black resin from South America which they use as pitch. [352]

502 The paddles of the Caribs differ from French oars. They are polished and are about six feet long. They hold the top of the handle in one hand while the other hand is close to the blade. They dip it straight in, breaking the water when they paddle. [366] They use a

they will not eat even a single egg. Perhaps they are no longer so disgusted by them. [290] The word for dog is chou-chou. The dogs of the Caribs in the beginning were medium sized, had upright ears like foxes, and were raised to hunt agoutis and lizards. These dogs could not stand us because of our clothes. Now the Caribs take any kind of dog they can get. [166]

The Caribs hunt agoutis with the same eagerness that the French hunt hares. The agouti has the head of a rat, with rough hair on his hind quarters which stands up when he is frightened. His tail is smaller and shorter than that of a rabbit. His color is brown, bordering on black. He eats sitting up like a squirrel and holds food in his front paws. When the agouti is chased by dogs, he hides in the hollow of a tree like in a fort, but the Caribs set fire at the entrance to smoke him out, and the dogs catch him when he runs out.

When the meat is fresh the taste is too gamy, but the flavor improves when it is kept until the next day and is salted. The Caribs prepare it by roasting and expose the meat to smoke. Then they wrap it up in leaves and keep it as long as they wish. The meat dries up like leather. Nevertheless, it softens when boiled for a long time in manioc water, and it makes good food for the Caribs who eat almost no other land animal. [430]

The Caribs know the trees where parrots have their next. They go to catch them when they are downy. They cage them and then teach them how to speak and whistle. [218] The Caribs do not yet use stairs, steps, or ladders. Yet they are able to climb everywhere. I have seen some grab hold on a tree with their two hands and put the soles of their feet against the tree. This requires great strength. Possibly they don't all climb in this way. [205]

The Caribs are watchful, but it is only to go out at night for crabs, or to shoot fish from the rocks, in order to provide for the next day. They only collect provisions for one day, so that should anyone come late, they will scarcely find a piece of cassava to give him. [297] The Caribs hunt crabs at night with torches. [367] Crabs are tied in pairs along five or six sticks. The Caribs hold them by the ends and this makes up the load of one man. [129]

When the Caribs sail along the coasts and see lobsters at the bottom of the sea they dive in from the canoe with a rock in order to go more easily to the bottom. Having seized the lobster they drop the stone and bring up their catch, sometimes getting their nose filled

411 the sap which comes out is pure poison. They dip their arrows into it. [67] There is another kind of arrowhead made from the tip of a ray's tail. This is the most dangerous arrow because it is sharp at the end and swells after it enters. Besides it is saw-toothed, and is of itself poisonous. [90]

415 The catáoli is the carrying basket of the Carib women woven with rush called oüalloman. This basket does not look like the baskets of France. It has a rather large bottom and is completely open in the front. The two sticks are fastened with mahot bark four fingers wide which then passes around the head and is supported by the forehead rather than by the arms. They carry articles in it by tying them firmly with a small cord. They carry cotton hammocks, manioc, and other things. These would not stay inside unless they were fastened. Each woman has her own. [111] With regard to [482] lighter burdens they bend the elbow against the side and carry them with forearm upright, the hand opposite the shoulder, as when they carry calabashes full of oüicou. [124]

The iamánti is a double basket lined between the two walls with cachibou leaves. This basket is made of a reed called ticasguet. They also attach the sails of their canoes to this reed. [267] They pass two strings into the interweaving of the basket in order to tighten it. They also do the same with a crudely made basket covered with chibou leaves. This is used as a mold for the other basket made over it which they fasten with sticky strings. [147]

[352] The matoútou is a small table woven of oüalloman reed. It is very neatly made and rests on four little sticks half a foot high. They make an offering by spreading cassava on this table and placing a calabash full of food on it. [357] Some ibichets [sifter, seive] are used to strain oüicou and the holes of this kind are close together. There are others used to sift manioc flour, the holes being square. The Caribs make them with oüalloman reeds. There are two shapes of sieves, round and square. The square shaped ones are more convenient because they are mounted on sticks which support them. [189]

416 The Carib manioc press is called mátabi. It looks like a long ● 252 stocking, and is woven of oüalloman. It is hung by its upper end. When filled with manioc flour it has the appearance of a snake and also the name of one. The Caribs pass a large stick through the lower end of the press, (one end) of the stick being stuck under and held by a piece of wood. The upper end (of the stick) is loaded with some

415 stocks which lengthens and presses this basketry so much that by its
250 weight is easily draws out of the flour all of the water which is in it. The Caribs collect the water in a calabash and use it to cook their meats. Only the old Caribs know how to make this device. [356] The ócoácae is a basket loosely woven from oüalloman strips which they make at the same time as the snake-like manioc press used to press their flour. [395] (This basket may have been used to contain the stone weights which would explain its manufacture in conjunction with the manioc press--Editors.)

The camoücoulou is a calabash made of grass which holds a full bucket of water. [107]

824 The comáti is a tree which the Caribs use by stripping and grating the under bark. They press out the juice which they mix with a little water, in order to dilute it so that it can be used. Then, when their oüalloman is prepared they tie its wooden supports right at the middle in order to make beautiful baskets. Next they varnish this gummy juice on half of it. Immediately after this beautiful black becomes dry they revarnish it again which makes it beautiful, shining, and so durable that unless you scrape it off it does not disappear. [175] Some urucu unmixed with oil is used to redden the oüalloman reeds when they make baskets. [397]

412 The word tacháragle is used to refer to many tools. It may be an iron chisel, a cudgel of wood shaped like a wood chisel which they use to stuff oakum into seams, or it may be a kind of poker dipped into pitch to calk the boat. It is also a spindle with which the women spin, or it can be a stick used to pierce the earth for planting tobacco. [113] From the thorn of a palmetto they make a needle, as long as a finger, with which they make thread used for their sashes. This needle is also used in their hairdress. [114]

534 The Caribs cut certain tap roots, scoop them out, and make flutes. [186] They have three flutes arranged and attached together. I have seen two Caribs at a drinking party who decided to play it and danced to its cadence opposite to one another. They did this so well that our own dancers would scarcely excel them. [239]

241 root is pure poison which might kill someone. Even cassava may have the same effect when it is not sufficiently cooked. If manioc water could kill when drunk abundantly, all the Caribs would now be dead, for they eat no fish, meat, or tomali which is not cooked in manioc water. Cassava by itself is so little nourishing that at the beginning when I was among the Caribs, one could not hear me speak two feet away because I was so weak. It is true that I did not eat enough of it. Eaten with sweet potatoes or something else, cassava is sufficient even at sea, provided that the taste of tobacco has not spoiled it. I think it is fortunate that cassava is light on the stomach. [328]

Kiére is the name for manioc [328] Purple manioc is called itachaheu, red manioc is miriti, and black manioc is belehuera. [330]

412 The grating device of the Caribs is a small plank covered with
● 252 sharp little inlaid stones. After supper all the women grate only the manioc roots which will be used the following day, because ordinarily they eat only fresh bread. The women wash and then grate the manioc and reduce it to a flour. The Carib women grate each day in order to have stale manioc water which they use the next morning to boil their fish. They also do it so that the water will drain out and the flour will become slightly sour. This sourness takes the place of yeast, and without it cassava would be too sweet, tasteless, and not appetizing. [139]

262 The fine flour of manioc is mouchache. The Carib women grate the manioc in the evening, and the one who has finished first puts her head outside and shouts to the others, "Come to press the flour." They all come with their calabashes and gather around the flour and take some in their hands, press it into their calabashes, and then put it back. They go then to another house and so forth, until they have enough of what they need. Back home they put their calabash in some spot in the house and let the manioc water settle for use the next day in cooking. The fine flour settles to the bottom and is hard like wax. They ordinarily crush this into a powder to mix it with other flour in order to improve the cassava. The girls make cassava consisting only of this flour, the bread being no thicker than a cat's tongue. When this is well baked it crunches when eaten and is very appetizing. [224]

Cassava, called márou, is made from pressed manioc flour which is spread out on a warm plate and is as thick as a finger or a thumb.

252 When it seems doughy and has been turned over once it is cooked and they put it to dry on a mat of reeds or on a sloping plank. Then it is stored and they keep it as long as they wish. If stored cassava has become too hard they soften it in a plate full of water to which lime or lemon juice, salt and pimento have been freely added. It draws water like a sponge, especially if no water was added to the cassava when it was made. [355] The women take the cassava off the griddle with a piece of tortoise shell. [460]

273 Women chew the cassava out of which they make ouicou before they put it in their pots. They are asked to do so whenever a drinking party is to be held. This is very disgusting; however the beer turns out to be much better. The expression "chew ouicou" is used for this process. When they don't chew cassava, a different expression is used. [117]

They grate sweet potatoes which they let spoil. Sometimes they make a kind of ouicou out of these grated sweet potatoes which they call camaleite. [107]

With unpressed flour the Caribs make cassava loaves which are about six inches thick and half baked. They place them on banana leaves laid on a plank and sprinkle them with sea water. Having wrapped them in these leaves they leave them for eight days. By this time the loaves are red. They knead them, wrap them again, and keep them for two months. After this period they make a very strong ouicou. I once drank a quantity equivalent to two glasses of this kind of ouicou and I had its fumes with me all day long so strongly that it was as if I had drunk a great deal of the best burgundy of Beaune. [302]

When the manioc has been uprooted, stored, and brewed into a drink, the next day it is passed around, and the day after it is drunk. The women have a sieve which is not finely meshed. They put it over the opening of a pot. Having mixed ouicou in this jar they pour it through the sieve into calabashes. There is some of the mash left which they throw to the animals. It is at the same time a food and drink. What seemed very disgusting to me is that they have four or [301] five cotton threads passed through their noses and also threads through their lower lip. Before the calabash reaches their mouth, these cotton trinkets fall into it and ouicou mash clings to them, trickles down, and really disgusts all who are not accustomed to it. [119]

252 Camagnem is a root similar to manioc but it is nonpoisonous. They roast it on coals and then eat it like sweet potatoes, but it is not so good as the sweet potato. [107]

The sweet potatoes, called mabi, is the mana of these islands, and having it one cannot die of hunger. Sweet potatoes are not subject to the ravages of hurricanes, in contrast to manioc which is sometimes ruined by them. The roots and leaves of sweet potatoes are edible and the ends of the sprouts may be eaten like asparagus. A meal would not be complete without sweet potatoes. One cooks them like chestnuts, whose taste they resemble, either in a kettle or under the ashes. The stems and leaves are so nourishing that two bundles of them per day are sufficient to feed the biggest pigs kept in pens. [342]

The yam is called namoüin or couchou. It is a big root from which the Caribs make bread and a fermented drink. They cook it as they do a sweet potato. [365] Sweet potatoes and other roots good to eat are called oüle. [421]

Two months after maize is seeded it is grown. The Caribs gather it, roast it on coals, and eat it. Out of maize the Galibis make palinot which is as good as beer. The French use it to feed poultry, although some put it in their flour, mixed half and half with French wheat. This makes a good bread with a pleasing flavor. It is called márichi, or aoüáchi. [355] [273]

Island peas, called mancónti, come up in a short time and are much easier to digest than our varieties. They have different kinds -- white, black, red, and seven-year peas. Out of these they make a reddish soup verging on black. [352]

Sugar cane is used by the Caribs who strip off the leaves and pound the stems in a pestle. Then they put them in a pot full of water. They make a good drink which they have after it is well boiled. [167] [276]

The term for a bunch of figs or bananas is lacálla. I don't know why we call bananas bunches of figs, probably because this fruit is numerous and well ordered. [102]

262 The carratas is a kind of fruit which the Caribs use to quench their thirst when they are far from water. A good juice could be made out of it. The fruit is abundant and grows along one elongated stem, and is so closely set one upon another that it is difficult to take off the first one. [110]

248 The coûlaoûa is a fruit which looks like pineapple but is smaller. It furnishes hemp for the Caribs. [183]

262 [278] The Carib cabbage is called táya. I have seen several kinds among the Caribs, who consider it to be a good remedy. I have not delved into the problem of learning its virtues. I know there is one kind which has red-ribbed leaves. They press the juice which they mix [301] with urucu [body paint] and redden themselves with it, firmly believing that they make themselves pleasing to their enemies and that they have nothing to fear when they take this precaution. The other kinds of cabbages which are more common are added to their cooking instead of seasoning, and their tips are prepared like Spanish chard. The Caribs cook the roots and make a drink out of it. [453]

262 222 The Carib women take termite nests and fill their pots, which are their ovens, and add some rotten and dry wood. When the fire is set it cooks slowly. [176] The Caribs are fond of honey and they know the trees where it can be found. When they see a honey fly going to a tree they place their ear against the tree. If they hear the buzzing of honey flies they fell the tree and take the honey which they distribute to each one in his calabash. They mix it with water and drink it immediately. The honey flies have no stinger although they swarm on the Caribs and tickle them with their tiny legs so much that they can scarcely bear it. [350] Lice are an appreciated delicacy. The Carib women roll them between their teeth and savor them for a quarter of an hour. I have tried to make them ashamed of it, but whatever I said about their imagined delicacy failed to provoke the disgust which they reserve only for lice born on the heads of those from another nation. [140]

Toads are eaten at Martinique like frogs. They are good. [239]

● 252 The Caribs do not have the patience to pluck the feathers out of a bird. I have been with them to the Saints where they catch birds called tuérou. First they cut off half of the wings on a piece of wood. Then they throw the bird in the fire, turning it over several times. They reach in and put it on a grill without cleaning it, and allow it to lie enveloped by smoke, sometimes for quite a while. They eat it without a sauce. They peal off only the outer skin and remove the guts. [240] The wives of the Caribs cook freshly caught fish in fresh water, often half-cleaned without being scaled. They season it with pepper. After they have poured off the sauce they use some small sticks of wood which they have taken from the fire to remove the fish from the pot. To divide and distribute it cleanly, they wash their hands with a mouthful

252 of water sucked out of a calabash. Nevertheless, during this process they wipe their hands on their buttocks, or use fresh grass which they find around them. [213] The sea worm is very slimy. The Caribs turn it over, suck the entrails and then throw the rest out. Sometimes 263 when they have nothing to eat they rub them in the ashes to clean off 252 the mucus and cook these sea worms and eat them. [69] They put into a small earthenware pot fine manioc flour, forty to fifty grains of pimento about as big as your thumb, scales and fish bones, and agouti bones which they have gnawed; they boil this all together in manioc water which is poisonous. This is their sauce and they dip their cassava into it when they have nothing else. It becomes so hot and tart that the strength of pepper comes up and makes their noses run as if they had taken the strongest mustard, and it makes them sneeze. Big tears come afterwards. The others who watch also weep, but it is because they laugh so hard. [109] They neither eat soup nor meat broth and have no other sauces than their tomali. [281]

252 The couáheu is a tree which has a nut as big as the thumb, but it is round and the skin is like that of an acorn. When these nuts are yellow and ripe the Caribs gather them and broil them in order to shell them by rolling them on a hot plate. Next they are put in a basket and exposed to moisture and rain in order to make them rotten. Then the rotten nuts are kneaded into a paste on a plank made for this purpose. The paste is exposed to the sun which separates out the oil because it becomes extremely warm. After they draw off as much as possible this way they put the paste under a press in order to separate out the rest of the oil. [179]

296 The Caribs clear a place in the midst of the fire, or hearth, and here put in a whole leaf of tobacco. When it becomes well dried they press it between their hands and only the ribs remain; the part of the leaf already crumpled is then reduced to a powder. They mix this with some white ashes and with a little sea water. Having soaked it all together in this way they put a pinch between their lip and gum. Frequently they become faint because it is so strong, or they become intoxicated. This is, however, their ordinary way of taking tobacco. It causes them to spit excessively. After they have kept it in their mouth a long time they scrub their teeth with it, which makes them as white as ivory. [117]

252 415 The great earthen pots in which the Caribs make their oüicou are called canálli or canari. The oüicou which has fermented is sifted and put into pots called chamácou and taóloüa. They are filled and put before guests instead of ordinary pots. Such great pots may hold the volume of twenty to thirty ordinary pots, or they may hold less according to the number of people served. The roüara pot is used to cook sweet potatoes. The iáligali pot is used to roast fish. There is a fire underneath and it has no bottom, being placed on some stones. In order to have some draft it is narrow at the top. Some little sticks are placed across the mouth on which they put fish which cooks slowly, the heat being retained within the pot. [107] They use three rocks to support a pot when they put it on the fire. [350] The boutéicha is an earthen jar. [94] The boutalli has the shape of a dish on which the French women dry their collars, and they have retained its name. It is made of baked earth and is placed on three rocks at a height from the ground of half a foot or more, with a smokeless blaze underneath. Having warmed it up, manioc flour is poured on it and cooked. This is the Carib oven. [93] They cover the mouth of a pot when they burn gum under it to blacken it in order that the smoke sticks to the vessel. [62]

The Carib grill is made with four forked sticks planted into the ground with traverse sticks across. It has a great fire underneath. The Carib word for grill is aríbelet. [52]

9. Dress and Ornaments

291 If their nakedness is shocking, their carefulness prevents as much as it can the unruled movements of a corrupted nature from appearing. Furthermore, they have a belt at the level of their kidney which hangs around the front. They attach it with windings around the prepuce [304] which is not circumcised, although some people have hinted they were Jews. They do not crudely perform indecent actions in front of people; this is not what some people, cruder than the Caribs, attempt to make us believe. I should say for their honor, and to make the Christians ashamed, that I have never seen them perform a shameful action in front of people. [227]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

226 **Fishing.**—The staple food of the *Carib* was the crab, which they hunted [252] at night by torchlight. They roasted the meat, seasoning it with a sauce called taumalin,[3] a mixture of lime juice and pounded peppers with the greenish meat next to the shell of the male crab.

Sea food was an important part of the diet. The *Carib* picked up shellfish along the shore. They caught fish with small nets (at night or when the water was calm); with hook and line (the hooks being of tortoise shell); by scattering a certain kind of poisonous wood on the water; or by use of the bow and arrow. The arrows were long and three-pronged; each was attached by a string to a wooden float so that it could easily be retrieved. Harpoons (with separate points) were employed to catch the manatee and sea turtle; the land turtle was stalked. Corrals are mentioned; they may have been fish wiers.

224 **Hunting.**—On land the *Carib* hunted the agouti and the lizard with dogs, smoking the lizards out of the holes into which the dogs drove them. They also caught birds, using the bow and arrows tipped with cotton or else stupefying the birds with smoke from a poisonous wood.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Parrots and dogs were the only domesticated animals except when, in historic times, the people kept poultry and swine, largely for trade with the Europeans.

252 **Preparation of fish and meat.**—The *Carib* took special pains in the preparation of fish and meat, broiling them sometimes for a whole day over a slow fire on a wooden grid 2 feet (0.6 m.) high. They also roasted fish and agouti meat in the ash and smoked the latter for purposes of storage, cooking the smoked meat in cassava juice when they wished to eat it. For the seasoning of fish and meat they used a sauce called coüi, which was made by boiling the juice of the manioc with crushed peppers, lime juice, and manioc flour. They made a soup from left-over scraps of fish and meat, as well as from agouti bones. These were boiled in manioc juice with peppers, manioc flour, and oysters to form a strong mixture in which the Indians dipped cassava bread. Apparently this was as close as the *Carib* came to the typical *Arawak* pepper pot.

262 The same sources that describe the foregoing methods of hunting, fishing, and preparing meat also mention a taboo on the manatee, the turtle, and all land animals. The sources imply that this taboo was general, a fact difficult to reconcile with the above statements.[4] It is certain, however, that the *Carib* never took salt or ate the flesh of the eel and that they avoided fat.

241 **Farming and preparation of agricultural foods.**—The Indians cultivated both the bitter and the sweet varieties of manioc, using the same

[3] All *Carib* terms cited here are from the men's language.

[4] This discrepancy may represent a difference between ideal and practice or it may reflect a breaking down of the system of taboos. There is some indication that the taboos were followed only during a limited period, as after fasts. (See p. 557.)

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

methods of planting and of preparation as the *Arawak*. The kitchen utensils, however, were more varied. The *Carib* made their graters from coral, from thorny branches, or by inserting wood or stone splinters in a plank. They removed the juice in a cylindrical basketry strainer (pl. 94), hung with a weight from a tree; sifted the flour in a basketry sieve; and baked the cake on either a stone or a clay griddle with the aid of a wooden spatula. [241] 415

Corn, sweetpotatoes, yams, beans, and peppers also were cultivated, the corn being made into bread as among the *Arawak*. The sweetpotato and the yam were particularly important; they were planted as cuttings after a rain. When full grown the tubers were roasted or boiled and eaten with a sauce like that made for meat. The roots and leaves were used as a seasoning. 241 252

The *Carib* ate fruits of various kinds, including the banana (post-Conquest), the plantain, the guayba, the papaya, and the pineapple. Bananas were cooked in sugared water; both they and the other fruits were also pounded in a mortar to make a thick paste. Sugarcane, acquired from the Spaniards, was boiled in water or was chewed fresh, and honey was mixed with water to make a drink. 252

Eating.—Except for the morning meal taken soon after fixing their hair and bodies, the *Carib* ate irregularly. Men sat on low stools in the carbet (men's house) and were served by women on little tables (matoutou), covered with leaves. Later the women ate by themselves in the kitchen. 264

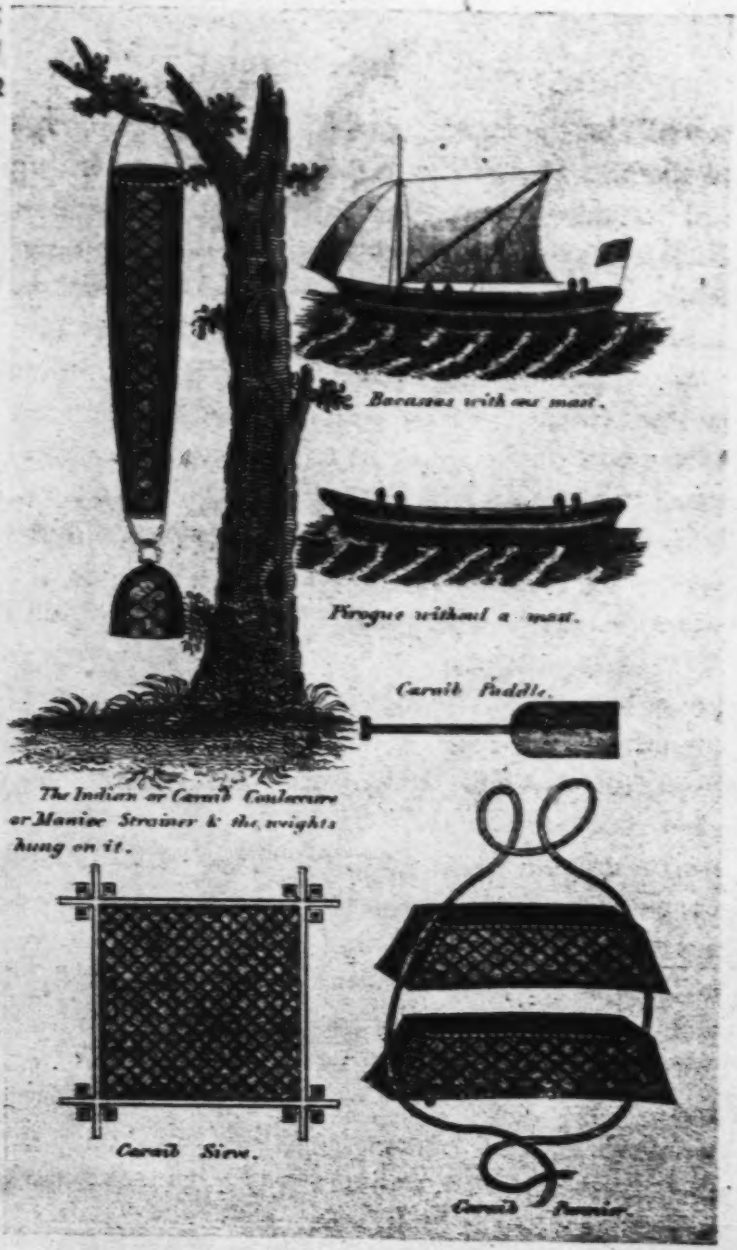
VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Settlements.—*Carib* villages were located in the areas least favorable for surprise attacks by the enemy, being usually on the windward side of the island and in an open space upon a rise in the land. Each village was near a stream, which provided drinking water and was used daily for bathing. The villages were moved frequently, after a death, sickness, or some other disagreeable incident. Each was small; it consisted of a carbet (men's house), various smaller houses for the women, and several storage platforms. These structures were arranged irregularly around a small plaza where the people were accustomed to sit by the light of a fire at night. 361

Houses.—The carbet (taboüi) was an oval building, which later became rectangular, about 60 feet (18 m.) long and 20 feet (6 m.) wide. To construct it the *Carib* set into the ground forked posts 10 feet (3 m.) high and lashed across beams to the tops of these posts. They laid on poles, extending from the ground at one end to the peak of the house at the other; bound other poles horizontally over the first set; and thatched the whole down to the ground with palm leaves. The floor was of dirt and had a hearth in the center. There were no partitions; the only openings were a door no more than 4 feet (1.2 m.) high in the middle of each side and end. 342

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

415
501
252


Bacassas with one mast.
Pirogue without a mast.
Carrib Paddle.
The Indian or Carrib Coulevure or Manioc Strainer & the weights hung on it.
Carrib Sieve.

145

PLATE 94.—Carib manufactures. (After Sheldon, 1820, pl. 14.)

[p. 564 B]

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

The leaves of a tree known as bois tan (not *Byrsonima spicata*, also called bois tan) give, when macerated in water, a mauve dye used for coloring the strands of a liana called mibi, for basket making. 386

Saffron is the local name of a shrub, the expressed juice of whose carrotlike fruit constitutes a yellow dye similarly employed.

Kwachi and Bois Cassave are the local names for two trees, the juice of whose fruits provides a black stain or ink, used sometimes on thread or cloth.

Though not properly coming under the heading of pigments, a kind of mud found at certain points along the river banks may be mentioned here, as it is used for staining the stems of the larouman, to which it imparts a very fine black. The stems are merely buried in the mud, and left there for 2 or 3 days. 415

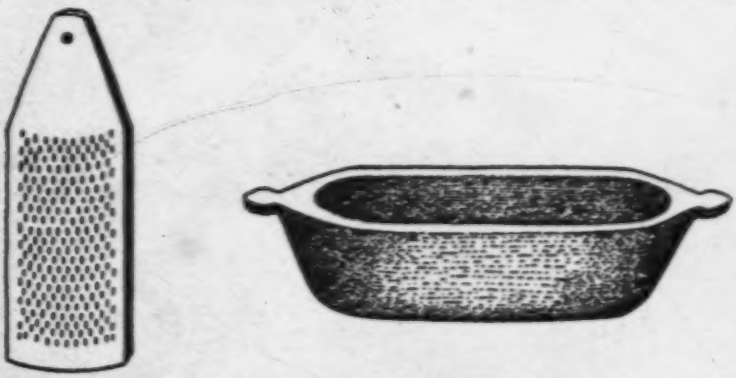


FIGURE 30.—Cassava grater and cassava canoe.

OTHER DOMESTIC REQUISITES AND THEIR USES

The Caribs' domestic utensils, apart from those which come under the heading of basketry, consist of the following: Cassava grater, cassava canoe, platine, palette, pestle and mortar, boucan or barbecue, cane press, terrine, bouri and coui (kinds of calabash), lélé or swizzle stick. As many of these articles (all, with the exception of the platine) are home-made, and serve principally in the preparation of cassava, it will be as well to start by describing that process. 415

The tubers of the manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), of which there are several varieties (see section on cultivation), are first scraped to remove the outer skin and then washed. Next they are grated on the "grage" or cassava grater into the "counou" or cassava canoe (fig. 30). The former is a board, some 3 feet long by 1 broad, into which sharp flints or nails have been driven. The latter is made from the wood of the gommier tree in the same manner and in almost the same shape as the real dugouts, except that the "counou" is neither 252 415

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

opened out nor bordered as is the "canot." At either end a small handle is carved to facilitate manipulation. The cassava canoe is usually about 5 to 6 feet long by about 2 feet high and 18 inches across. When a sufficient quantity of manioc has been grated, the pulp is pressed, in order to remove the poisonous juice, by one of three methods: (*a*) by applying weight or leverage to a matapi (see under basketry) filled with the wet grated manioc; (*b*) by squeezing through leverage a sack made for this purpose from latanier (*Thrinax* sp.) and filled with the grated manioc pulp; (*c*) by wringing out the moisture in a cloth. Thus dried, the grated, squeezed manioc is next passed through the hébichet, or sifter (q. v. under basketry), in order to remove lumps and to render it of an equal fineness. Meanwhile the manioc water, or juice wrung from the grated manioc, has had time to settle in the calabashes in which it was collected. The residue or starch, known here as "moussache," is removed, dried, and either mixed with the meal or set aside for separate use.

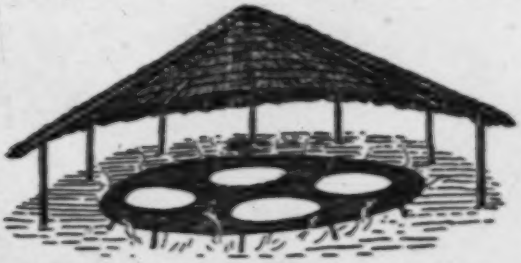


FIGURE 31.—Platine with cassava bread baking under shelter.

The dry sifted meal is now ready to be baked on the platine (fig. 31). This, in the old days a slab of stone or earthenware, is today a round sheet of iron, 6 to 10 feet in diameter, heated from beneath, and housed in a special circular shelter of thatch known as the "cale-platine." On it the meal is baked either into cassavas or into farine. The former is a round flat pancake about three-quarters of an inch thick and 2 feet in diameter. While baking, the meal is patted into shape, flattened, and turned with the help of a miniature paddle (fig. 32), some 2 to 3 feet long, known as a palette. Farine (manioc flour) is likewise baked on the platine, but instead of its being pressed and shaped it is constantly stirred during the process. These two products (together with tannia, yams, edoes, plantain, etc.) constitute the staple food of the Dominica Caribs today.

FIGURE 32.—Cassava palette.

Toumalin (the tamali of the Mexicans?) is still made by the older Caribs in the reserve. It is a brown pungent sauce with peculiar flavor and the consistency of thick gravy, made by the prolonged boiling of the manioc water from which the starch has been removed,

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

and to which pimentos, onions, fish, or ciriques (land crabs sp.) have been added. This sauce is used to moisten and season the otherwise insipid cassava bread. The noxious character of the manioc juice disappears in the boiling.

The unbaked manioc meal is sometimes sweetened with sugarcane juice, spiced, and then wrapped in plantain leaves, tied into little packages, and boiled to form a sort of dumpling known as "canqui."

Fond of liquor as the Caribs undoubtedly are, they no longer make any native drink (unless it be illicit rum), nor have they done so, it seems, for a considerable time. There are those, however, who remember an old man who used to make a beverage from the glou-glou palm and from that known to the Caribs as yattahou (*Acrocomia sclerocarpa*, and *Syagrus amara* (?) respectively), but they were unable to tell me how it was made.

Pestle and mortar are indispensable utensils in any Carib home. With them are ground coffee, cocoa, castor-oil nuts, and everything else that has to be reduced to powder or paste. The former is club-shaped and about 3½ feet long, the latter being in the form of a jar some 2½ feet in height and 10 inches across the mouth. Both are made of any hard heavy wood such as white cedar or "tan" (*Byrsonima* sp.).

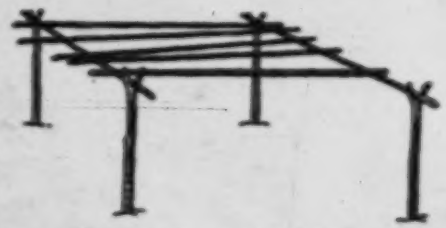


FIGURE 33.—BOUCAN OR CARIB BARBECUE.

Inside or outside of every Carib kitchen stands one or several boucan (fig. 33) (whence "buccaneer"), ready for smoke drying an excess of fish or game, which, thus preserved, will keep anywhere from a month to a year. Sticks of guépois (*Myrcia leptoclada* D. G.) or of bois d'Inde (*Pimenta acris* Sw.) are most often used for this purpose, and are stuck in the ground so as to form an erection some 2½ feet high resembling two football goals about 4 feet apart, across which other sticks are laid to form a grid.

A primitive type of cane press, also common to Guiana, is to be found outside nearly all the houses in the reserve (fig. 34). It consists of a thick post stuck in the ground. A cavity is hollowed out near the top, and a hole pierced, through which a lever passes. The cane, placed transversely across the mouth of the cavity, is crushed by the lever being brought down on successive sections, thus expressing the juice, which runs down grooves into a waiting receptacle. "Vesou" (sugarcane juice) is a cheap and ever-ready sweetening matter for coffee, cocoa, etc.

Despite its name, the terrine is a wooden bowl (rather like the modern salad bowls), which was and sometimes still is used for wash-

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

Anatherum zizanioides Hitchcock and Chase, Contrib. U.S. Nat. Herb. 18: 285. 1917. 814[X]

Khus-khus[1]. — Vetiver.

Vetiver is a native of Asia but is cultivated in the tropics of both hemispheres.

Screens used to perfume living quarters are constructed from the roots of this species (23). In Dominica, as elsewhere, the roots are dried and bundled to place in drawers for scenting linen, etc. [314]

The leaves of vetiver are bleached by boiling, are sundried, and then are split in two by the Caribs for plaiting hats. [285]

Specimen citation: 227.

Zea mays Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 971. 1753.

Maize, Indian Corn. — Mais (French); mai, mi (patois). — *oudri* (m) (cf. Tupi *abata*), *mdriri* (w).

Maize is a tropical American contribution to the world's cereals, yet the exact source of its origin in the Americas is still debatable. It has been grown as a basic American crop since prehistoric time, and even in pre-Columbian days was cultivated from southern Canada to Chile and Argentina (1) (21) (22). Corn was first seen growing in the West Indies by Columbus, who called it maiz. According to MANGELSDORF and REEVES (38), the flint corn so characteristic of the West Indies, was probably introduced from South America although it is most closely related to Central American types. [177]

Corn is grown for food by the Island Caribs who always eat it roasted, never boiled; nor is corn flour ground locally. Actually this vegetable is more a delicacy with the Indians than a staple food, and is reputed to have the properties of an aphrodisiac. Kernels of maize are sown or planted in preference by newly pregnant girls who believe their condition will cause the plant to bear more abundantly. As in all other agricultural activities — sowing and reaping, felling timber, etc. — planting of corn is rigidly regulated by the phases of the moon. 814[X] 243 [252]

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

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[1] Varieties of the yam (*Dioscorea trifida*) with purplish, reddish, or whitish flesh are also called « khus-khus » or « kus-kush » in Dominica.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

824[X]

Alphanes sp.
Grigri. — *rébri*.

An unidentified palm of this genus is known from the windward coast of Dominica where it grows at elevations slightly greater than those at which *Acrocomia aculeata* is found. The Dominica grigri may well represent an undescribed species[9].

The Island Caribs put the grigri palm to the same uses as the glou-glou. The trees are chopped down to obtain the edible fruits and nuts.

Specimen citation: 126 (T).

Coccothrinax martinicensis Beccari (?)[10], Webbia 2: 324. 1907.
Latanier. — *alatawi*, *kardia*.

A rather small fan-palm limited to the lower coastal bluffs and cliffs of Dominica and Martinique. Apparently its constant use by the Indians has caused it to become quite scarce in these isles, although it is said to still occur on the bluffs and cliffs below the village of Vieille Case, and on Pointe Daniel in the southeastern part of the island.

[411]

Bows were formerly made by the Caribs from the wood of latanier. The broad fan-like leaves are used to cover huts and shelters, and are also fashioned into brooms. The septum of the mature petiole is split in two and then is woven, before it becomes dry, into a sort of game basket or sack called *jokon*. The people of Pennville (where there are also a few Caribs) also weave bags or sacks (in which grated manioc is pressed) from this petiolar material.

[342 412]

[285 252]

Specimen citation: no authentic herbarium material collected.

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[9] Although species of this genus have been recorded from Martinique and St. Vincent (on the latter island the palm is still very common), authentic material from Dominica has, until now, been lacking. Nevertheless the grigri of Dominica has been mentioned by such writers as Barton (7), DuTertre (18), and Oexx (39). Today the Dominican grigri palm is found only in very wild situations. The herbarium material is still insufficient for specific determination.

[10] The herbarium material in hand is not ample for a conclusive determination. However, this is the only species of this genus known from the near vicinity (e. g. Martinique). At the present time other fan palms representing various genera are growing under cultivation near houses in the Carib Reserve, and have probably been introduced via the Botanic Gardens at Roseau.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

Cocos nucifera Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 1188. 1753.
Coconut Palm. — *palmes* (from Spanish *palma*).

The coconut palm is grown on all tropical coasts. Its center of origin is controversial although the plant is probably native to the Old World. Hundreds of uses are recorded for various parts of this plant, which is considered the most valuable of all palms. Du Tertre (15) records the species as established in the French Antilles in the seventeenth century.

Coconuts are an important product of Dominica and several estates have been devoted to their culture. The Creoles utilize the green «jelly nuts» as a refreshing drink and the flesh of the mature fruits for food and oil. The husks supply a fiber, coir, employed for local cordage.

Coconuts are cultivated by the Island Caribs who use the large leaves for thatch, and the endosperm as a source of food and oil. The latter is obtained by grating and boiling the flesh of the nuts.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Euterpe dominicana L. H. Bailey, Gent. Herb. 4: 375. 1940.
Palmiste, Palmiste franc, Manicol. — *wése.*

A tall slender palm endemic to Dominica and common throughout moist mountain forests, chiefly at middle elevations.

Often felled by Caribs and other woodsmen for the sake of the palatable coeur-palmiste («cabbage» or «heart») which they extract from the cylindrical crown of the tree, and which is eaten either raw or boiled. The leaves of young specimens, folded and plaited, are used for thatch. Ridge-caps (or covers) for dwellings are sometimes made from the wood of this palm by merely splitting the trunk in two. The rotted trunk serves as a refuge for the fat white edible grub (*sémbe* [11]) of the palm beetle (*Calandra palmarum* Fabric.). The reddish colored prop-roots (racines palmiste) of this palm are cut, peeled and scraped, then split into two or three strands and utilized for the manufacture of shoulder carry-alls (*tédia*, literally «a basketry lattice or trellis-work»). The making of palm wine from this species has been

[11] Although the grub of the palm beetle is more frequent in this palm of the mountain forests, it also lives in the rotten bases of the coastal *tédia* (*Elytericera ciminea*). Jacquin (33) also records the roasting of this «delicious» insect morsel, which is often eaten raw or roasted by the modern Carib.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

The « cabbage », though edible, is apparently not eaten by the Caribs, but in former days it was apparently tapped as a source of a wine (7). The orange-colored fruits were used formerly in making a fermented drink; while the kernels, though rather bitter, are often eaten by Carib children. The kernels were also made into an oil which was mixed with the red color from the seeds of *Bixa orellana* to form body paint. The oil was probably extracted, as is coconut oil locally today, by grating and boiling the endosperm of the nuts.

Specimen citation: 3361, 3699.

CYCLANTHACEAE. Cyclanthus Family.

Carludovica spp.

Z'Ailes Mouche, Langue Boeuf [of Breton (7)]. — *munusiali* (« twin leaf »).

Two Lesser Antillean species of this genus — terrestrial *C. insignis* Duchass., and scandent *C. plumieri* Kunth (the latter is more common) — are found in the wet mountain rainforests of Dominica.

Carib hunters often cover their temporary overnight shelters or ajoupas (*kabé* [13]) with the broad bifurcate leaves of these

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records that the Indian houses were made of straw while Ybarra (69), commenting on this use, states that Chanca had made a mistake for (quoting Ybarra): « ... though the houses of the native Indians of the Antilles may have had the appearance of being built of straw, they were most exclusively made of the component parts of the Royal Palm (*Roystonea regia* Cook)... ». If any of the several species of Royal Palm was used as a source of thatch in the Lesser Antilles it was not the Cuban Royal Palm mentioned by Ybarra but rather the Caribbee Royal Palm, *Roystonea oleracea* (Jacq.) Cook. Although described originally from Barbados the natural range of this palm is still unknown. It may have occurred in Guadeloupe and Dominica and is found as an ornamental in Dominica today. It has not been seen by us in unquestionably natural sites nor in numbers suitable for large scale thatching. On the other hand the Overtop Palm is a native coastal palm of these isles and as such would have been more readily available to Indian villages than any other local thatch-yielding palm. However Chanca may have been correct as to straw construction, for the stems of roseau (*Gynerium*) were formerly employed by the Caribs in wattle-work (7).

[13] Kabé is the local pronunciation, carbet the conventional (French) spelling, *taburi*, or *kaburi* the Carib word for « shelter » or « hall ».

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

Dasheen [16]

X 824

Numerous horticultural varieties of this species, whose native home is India and the Orient, are cultivated for their edible corms throughout the tropical and warm temperate regions of the world. The taro of the Pacific Isles is also a horticultural form of this species, and is eaten boiled or baked like potatoes or in the form of a fermented paste called poi. The dasheen is generally prepared, in the West Indies, in the same manner and in as many varied ways as potatoes; in addition a good flour can be made from the tubers, and the young shoots when properly prepared may be eaten as a green vegetable. In Dominica the dasheen is one of the favorite and staple foods of the Creole population and is found in all home provision gardens.

[252] [262]

The Carib Indian has in more recent years « borrowed » this plant for his own usage, and grows it for the corms and young shoots.

Specimen citation: 9 (T), 24 (T), 32 (T).

Dieffenbachia seguine (Jacquin) Schott, Melet. 1: 20. 1832.
Dumb Cane. — Sigin, Sijin, Canne Gratter. — *vélere.*

Dumb Cane grows in low, wet places throughout tropical America. The English name refers to the irritating sap which is highly inflammatory to the tongue. In Dominica this species is particularly abundant in the ravines near the settlement of Bataka in the Carib Reserve. Two « varieties » are said to occur, one called « seigin rouge ».

[578] [278] 757

Sigin is said to be pounded by the Carib and placed as a poison in the food of an enemy. As such it is claimed to « kill four generations »! The leaves of sigin rouge are withered by heat and wrapped around dropsical, scarred, or varicose legs in order to « draw out the water », and in the same way are used as a local treatment for yaws.

Specimen citation: 3174.

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[16] It has been shown that this is an anglicized form of « de Chine » which in turn probably derives from « taro or chou de Chine », the full name originally used in the Lesser Antilles for this introduced species. Other names, certain of them applied to the New World tanias (*Xanthosoma* spp.), also, are used throughout the Antilles. For instance in Martinique dasheen is often called « chou de Chine », while in Guadeloupe it has the name « madère », applied in Dominica and Martinique to one of its varieties.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X 824 The tubers of X. atrovirens Koch & Bouché [262] and *X. violaceum* Schott constitute one of the staple starchy foods of Dominica while the young leaves of *X. brasiliense* (Desr.) Engl. are one of the prime ingredients of the famed « calalu » soup, a popular Creole dish.

[252] The Caribs cultivate tanias both as a food and green. When prepared as a green the « heart » (the unopened leaves) is boiled and eaten. Other authors (7) (15) mention a red-ribbed leaf variety, [789 724] « chou poivré », whose juice the Caribs rubbed on themselves as a charm when going to war. Leaves of the red-ribbed variety, [278] known today as chou froidure (pronounced « chou fwedi »), are made into an infusion used against chills; and the same variety is an ingredient in another tea discussed under *Myrcia citrifolia*.

Specimen citation: 2466.

BROMELIACEAE. Pineapple Family.

Ananas comosus (Linnaeus) Merrill, Interpr. Rumph. Amb. 133. 1917.

Ananas sativus Schultes f. ex. R. & S. Syst. 7: 1283. 1830. *Ananas ananas* Cockerell, Proc. U. S. Nat. Mus. 19: 776. 1897. Ananas, Pineapple. — *idiana* (« prickly »); *kurdua* (fiber-yielding variety).

A native of Brazil, the pineapple has been widely cultivated for its fruits in the tropics and subtropics of both the New and the Old World. Strong white fibers, which are utilized for cloth in various parts of the world, are obtained from the leaves (22). The Barama River Caribs make an alcoholic drink from the grated pulp. First mention of the pineapple is by Peter Martyr who records its discovery by Columbus on Guadeloupe in 1493 (21).

[262 273 276] Several types are cultivated by the Caribs of Dominica. The fruit is eaten; a fermented beverage is made from the peeled skins steeped in water; while the fruit itself, as well as this drink, is considered to be good for urinary complaints. The small, [184?] green, immature fruit or its juice is, on the other hand, well known to these aborigines as an abortive agent.

[283] La pite (Carib: *kurdua*[16]), an important cultivated fiber plant

[16] Dr. L. B. Smith has determined that la pite of Dominica is not a species of *Bromelia* as was at first thought but actually a species of *Ananas*, most

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X824
[48]
[291
415]

Fig. 8

[252
412]

Fig. 9

Historical ethnobotany in the Antilles. — Fig. 8 – Collecting papayas, *Carica papaya*. — Fig. 9 – Grating roots from the cassava plant, *Manihot esculenta* (Both figures reproduced from Rochefort, 1665).

[Opposite p. 538]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

824X

An acaulescent herb widely distributed in the West Indies and tropical South America. The plant is to be found in Dominica on open grassy slopes at lower elevations.

The tunicated bulbs are said to be eaten by the older generation presumably as we do those of onions. Also, a decoction made from the bulb is taken by women at the time of their menopause or to relieve painful or irregular menstruation.

Specimen citation: 3 (T), 3188.

Trimezia martinicensis (Jacquin) Herbert, Bot. Reg. 30. misc. 88. 1844.

Cipura martinicensis Kunth, Nov. Gen. & Sp. 1 (1816) 321.

Coco Chat.

This little yellow flower is to be found on grassy slopes throughout the West Indies and continental tropical America.

The corms of this species possess an acrid yellow juice. They are grated by the Carib and mixed with other unknown ingredients. This mixture is then kept by an individual on his person as a charm to ensure success if he gets into a fight.

Specimen citation: 3304.

MUSACEAE. Banana Family.

Heliconia bihai Linnaeus Mant. 2: 211. 1771.

Bihai bihai Griggs in Bull. Torr. Bot. Club 31: 445. (1904). as to source of name only.

Wild Plantain. — Balisier. — *balíri*. (cf. *balúru*).

This species with bicolored bracts is probably to be found throughout the Lesser Antilles. In Dominica it occurs, often in colonies, on wet open slopes or along streambanks at middle and higher elevations.

Balisier leaves are used by the Caribs to cover temporary shelters in the woods (ajoupas), as waterproof lining material between the inner and outer layer of certain basket types (larouman paniers) in areas where cachibou (*Calathea lutea*) is not available, and as a « paper » substitute to wrap up fish, game, etc. Leaves of balisier are also utilized to wrap up, a) fish for roasting

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

in fire, *b*) titiri (a tiny fish) for steaming in a closed pot, *c*) sweetened meal of manioc or maize for boiling in water to make a kind of pudding. The midribs of the leaves are often sun-dried, cut to equal lengths and bound together at their ends parallel to one another so as to form roll-up mats used to sleep on. The petioles are often cut to form temporary braces used in making baskets. The leaves as well as the sap of the stem are employed as an unguent for burns, inflammation, etc. Balisier leaf heart together with water obtained from the hole of a pois doux (*Inga*) tree is used in the local treatment of erysipilis. The watery sap of balisier, mixed with the juicy pulp of the genip (*Genipa americana*) and with the ashes of burnt panicles of roseau (*Gynerium sagittatum*), is used as an unguent applied to yaws (framboesia). A red dye is said to have been made from the blue fruits.

Specimen citation: 1086, 2630.

Heliconia caribaea Lamarck, Encycl. 1: 426. 1783.
Heliconia bihai sensu authors (24).
Wild Plantain. — Balisier. — *balíri* (cf. *balúru*).

The commonest of the wild plantains generally confused even in current botanical literature with the preceding (24), but widely distributed throughout all the wet tropical regions bordering on the Caribbean. In Dominica colonies may be found in habitats similar to those occupied by the preceding species.

H. caribaea is put to the same use by the Caribs as is *H. bihai*.

Specimen citation: 3416, 3417.

Musa paradisiaca Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 1043. 1753.
Plantain. Banane. — *balúru, baldiana* (cf. Spanish platano).

Plantains originated in southeastern Asia but are cultivated in the tropics throughout the world. They are said to have been introduced into Hispaniola about 1500 and are recorded from Dominica in 1595 (21). Since the latter date they have grown to be a staple cultivated food in Dominica where they often persist after cultivation.

The Island Caribs formerly pounded and dried the fruits to form a sort of paste or concentrated food taken on voyages and consumed after mixing with water. Today plantains form one of

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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the chief native foodstuffs. They are usually boiled, rarely roasted, but in either case always in the green condition (unripe). The « popote » (i. e. the inflorescence bud) of this species or of the banana is crushed and its juice is applied as a cure for ulcers. Like those of the balisiers (*Heliconia* spp.) the leaves of both plantains and bananas are much used as wrapping material.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Musa paradisiaca Linnaeus subsp. **sapientum** (Linnaeus) O. Kuntze, Rev. Gen. 2: 892. 1891.
Banana. — Figue. — *bakúku*.

The distribution of the banana is identical with that of the plantain.
Bananas are hardly as important as plantains in the Caribs' diet, but they are an important commercial export crop in Dominica. A drink was formerly made from the fruit but today it is generally eaten ripe out of hand.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

ZINGIBERACEAE. Ginger Family.

Aframomum granum-paradisi (Hooker) K. Schumann in Engler, Pflanzenreich 20: 213. 1904.
Grains-of-Paradise Amomum. — Poivre Guinée.

This African plant was originally described from Sierra Leone. Various species of this fragrant-leaved genus have pungent seeds which, in the Middle Ages, were a popular substitute for pepper. Today they are still used medicinally and as a flavoring agent (22).

Caribs frequently cultivate poivre guinée near their dwellings for they utilize the seeds as a spice. The leaves, considered to be a charm, are rubbed on the body when bathing and are constituents of a ritual bath (described under *Ocimum micranthum*) for unlucky canoes. A similar bath is given to their hunting dogs. A tea is made from the leaves for stomach ache and the seeds are put into rum as a « chauffe » to excite dogs.

Specimen citation: 121 (T), 3204.

13: Hodge & Taylor N. E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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*824 **Persea americana** Miller, Gard. Dict. ed. 8 no. 1. 1768.
Persea gratissima Gaertner filius, Fr. & Sem. 3: 222. 1807.
Persea persea Cockerell, Bull. Torr. Bot. Club 19: 95. 1892.
Alligator Pear, Avocado. — Z'Aboca.

The avocado, a native of Central or South America, has been cultivated in the West Indies for many years for its edible fruit. The latter also is the source of an oil used for burning and for making soap (8).

[262 The Caribs, like all other inhabitants of Dominica, grow the
252] tree for its fruit. These may be eaten in a variety of ways, but are often mixed with manioc farine and pimento.

Specimen citation: 112 (T), 3335.

ROSACEAE. Rose Family.

Chrysobalanus icaco Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 513. 1753.
Coco-Plum, Icaco. — Z'Icaque [25]. — *ikáku, hikáku, naláibunō* (m).

A small evergreen tree or shrub common on coasts throughout the West Indies, Central America, and northern South America.

[373 The hard, heavy wood of the coco-plum is pounded by the Caribs to make a wick for gommier (*Dacryodes excelsa*) torches.
267] As elsewhere in the American tropics the small, plum-like drupes (which may vary in color from white to pink and purple) are frequently eaten.

Specimen citation: 584, 585, 3067, 3351.

Licania ternatensis Hooker f., Kew Bull. 81: 251. 1893.
Licania hypoleuca Grisebach, Fl. Br. W. I. 230. 1860, *non* Bentham.
Bois Diable.

This tree, found in the Lesser Antilles from Guadeloupe to Trinidad, is one of the commonest trees of Dominica's rain forests.

Timber of bois diable is used by the Indians for posts, sole-

[25] Not to be confused with a crimson-flowered species of *Ixora*, known in the Carib Reserve as ti (petit) z'icaque. This low cultivated shrub has become established in several areas in the Reserve.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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nioc. — *kiére* (m), *kāī* (w) – Bitter Manioc. *iúbue* (m), *kamániā*, *kumánana* – Sweet Manioc.

Manioc is one of the most important root crops of the American tropics, and has been long cultivated by the lowland Indians of this region. It is native to South America, probably Brazil (21), but has been introduced into the tropical and sub-tropical regions throughout the world. The first mention of cassava is by Peter MARTYR [34], who recorded it from both the American continent and the West Indies to which islands it had probably been carried by the Arawaks and Caribs.

Manioc varieties may be divided into two groups — bitter manioc (manioc amer) and sweet manioc (including manioc doux and camanioc). The bitter varieties contain much greater quantities of poisonous prussic acid, and consequently the sweet forms are treated by some as a separate species or variety.

Many types of manioc amer are cultivated by the Caribs (e. g. : « noir », « blanc », « violet », « bleu », « beurre », « cent-libres », etc.) while only one type each of manioc doux and camanioc are known by them. Red-stalked manioc doux is non-poisonous and may be used as a vegetable either boiled or roasted. It has a better taste then camanioc which, although less poisonous than manioc amer, must be used with caution as a vegetable.

Bitter manioc, in addition to its uses as prepared food, may be grated and employed (without the removal of the prussic acid) in the form of a poultice for sores and infected wounds.

The roots of bitter manioc are scraped, washed, and grated into a « kunu » or cassava trough (*batáia*), and then are squeezed either by wringing in cloths or in the Carib stocking-like basketry contraption known in patois as couleuvre [*rukúma* (w), *mátapi* (m)]. The resulting juice with its prussic acid [35] is collected in a receptacle below. The mouchasse or cassava-starch [*tibúkulu* (m),

[34] Manioc was known to most early historians as *yuca*, a name still used in many parts of tropical America.

[35] Into this leached acid Caribs are said to have formerly dipped their arrows in order to poison them, but it is difficult to see how plain dilute manioc-water could have imparted any real poison. This claim seems the more improbable when one realizes that the small indigenous mammals of Dominica suffer no ill effects when fed raw manioc.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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824x
252●

ókoho (w)] settles to the bottom of this poisonous liquid (« manioc water »). Today manioc water is usually thrown away but its poisonous principle may be removed by boiling. If this is done the manioc water is reduced to a thick, brown, gravy-like substance (*siúti*) which forms the basis, of the well-known « cassareep » (*tumáli*) sauce.

At this stage the grated, squeezed manioc may be mixed with spices and sugar and boiled in little leaf-packets to form a sort of pudding which goes by the name of canki (Creole) or *káiti* (Carib?). Usually, however, grated manioc is made into farine or cassave by baking on a large griddle known as a platine [*butáli* (m), *búrolet* (w)]. In farine making grated manioc is kept from coagulating by constant stirring with a crude wooden paddle, or palette, and this action causes the formation of a coarse flour (farine), to which the mouchasse (starch) may or may not be added. In cassave making grated manioc is patted into round flat cakes (cassavas) which average 9-15 inches in diameter and ¼–½ inches in thickness.

824x
273

Until recently a beer (*uéku*) was prepared from specially thick, baked, and slightly burnt cassavas. To make the beer, cassava cakes were sweetened and then chewed by the women. The resultant quid was then spat into a trough to which boiled manioc water, broken-up cassavas (and sometimes pounded, boiled sweet potatoes), and some water were added. Fermentation was completed in the course of two or three days and the fermented mixture, known as *sákuti* (meaning « chewed ») was then strained through a sifter or a specially constructed conical basket, more water being added in the process.

Specimen citation: 148 (T), 149 (T), 150 (T).

824x

Phyllanthus spp.

Graines En Bas Feuilles, Parasol 'Goutis [36].

[278
847]

Several weedy species of this genus occur in Dominica.

The Island Carib makes a tea from the whole plant and uses it as an abortive agent.

Specimen citation: 142 (T), 155 (T), 572, 574, 575, 576.

[36] *Selaginella flabellata* (L.) Spring, with a growth form similar to these weedy species of *Phyllanthus*, is also called parasol 'goutis in Dominica.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X824
[412
252
291]
[415
231]

Fig. 29

Fig. 30

[252]

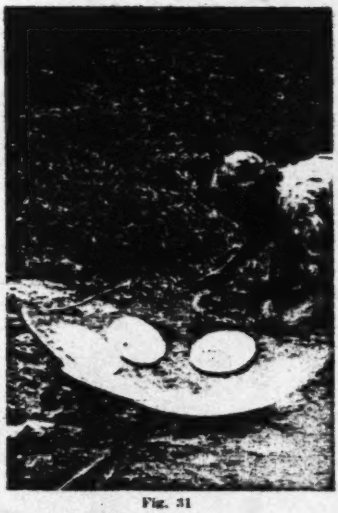

Fig. 31

Fig. 32

DOMINICA CARIB PLANTS. — Fig. 29 – A kitchen mortar and pestle in use at Salybia. The mortar is gommier and the pestle is made of bois d'inde (*Pimenta*). — Fig. 30 – A trough or « canoe » made of gommier wood for holding grated cassava roots (*Manihot*). — Fig. 31 – Making cassava cakes on a griddle. — Fig. 32 – Flowering twigs and foliage of the mombin, *Spondias mombin*, a tree supplying an edible, date-sized, acid fruit utilized in several ways by the Island Carib.

[Opposite p. 579]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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wound around the left wrist and forefinger. The spindle was set rotating by rolling its lower end (below the whorl) sharply down the thigh with the right hand. The thread thus spun was rolled onto the spindle-shank (above the guard) and the process recommenced. Cotton thread thus spun was used for weaving hammocks [39], head and leg bands [40], and more recently for mending clothes. Today cotton fiber is used principally for stuffing pillows and mattresses, and for calking canoes. However, a ritual bath, given to the mother after childbirth, utilized coton noir; it is discussed under *Ocimum micranthum*.

Specimen citation: 114 (T), 115 (T), 2541.

Hibiscus esculentus Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 696. 1753.
Abelmoschus esculentus Moench, Meth. 617. 1794.

Okra. — Gombo. — *inéku* (see also *Lonchocarpus* spp.).

A native of the Old World tropics, this species is widely cultivated. It was first recorded from the West Indies in 1750 (21). and is a familiar garden vegetable in Dominica.

Okra is either eaten as a vegetable or is used as an ingredient in a local soup known as « calalou ». However, a Carib hunter must not put any gombo in the pot with the game he cooks or his dogs and gun would lose their power of taking any more game of that sort. The leaves are used as shampoo in washing the hair to promote growth. A superstition also exists that eaten gombo tops will cause one to meet the persons who have been speaking ill of one.

Specimen citation: 136 (T).

Hibiscus tiliaceus Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 694. 1753.
Hibiscus elatus Swartz, Prodr. 102. 1788.
Pariti tiliaceum St. Hilaire, Fl. Bras. Merid. 1: 256. 1827.

Mahoe. — Maho (also spelled mahot, or mahaut) Doux. — *uainiu*, *uáiu*.

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[39] It is thought that the Island Caribs first introduced the cotton hammock into the Lesser Antilles from continental South America.

[40] Such articles were all listed by CHANCA (69) in his famous letter, and it is interesting to note that certain of these are still woven by the Caribs of Guiana.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

824x

A rather small tree of the West Indies and continental tropical America. In Dominica it occurs at lower and middle elevations.

The light-yellow flecked wood of this species has a characteristic odor of curry powder. West Indian swizzle-sticks are generally made from the whorled twigs of this tree, and although such utensils are more popularly known as necessary accessories in the mixing of rum punches, they also have other domestic uses.

The Caribs of Dominica employ swizzle-sticks in the mixing of such daily necessities as chocolate beverages, calalou soup, and cassereep or tumali sauce. [412]

Specimen citation: 109 (T).

STERCULIACEAE. Cocoa-Tree Family.

Sterculia caribaea R. Brown in Benn. Pl. Jav. Rar. 228. 1844.
Mahot (also spelled maho, mahoe, or mahaut) Cochon.

A familiar tree in Dominica at middle elevations, this species is found also in Jamaica, and in the Lesser Antilles from Guadeloupe to Trinidad and the Guianas.

Planks split (not sawn) from the very light timber are used by the Island Caribs to build up the sides of cheaply constructed dugouts (gommier is used in the better canoes). An inferior rope is made from the fibrous bark for rough and ready use, tying cattle, etc. The same fiber, mixed with gomme (« gum elemi », *Dacryodes excelsa*), boiled in shark oil, is employed in calking dugouts. [396 283]

Specimen citation: 541, 3462.

Theobroma cacao Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 782. 1753.
Cacao, Cocoa-Tree. — *kábu*.

Cacao, a native of continental tropical America, is widely cultivated in the world's tropics. In Dominica the species is commonly grown as a commercial crop in the sheltered river valleys and moist ravines.

The seeds (known as « nibs »), first roasted, shelled, and pounded in a wooden mortar are then emulsified by the Caribs in boiling water (milk is hardly used !) as a breakfast food. Formerly piment [252 262]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

824x

Clusia plukenetii Urban, Symb. Ant. 5 : 432. 1908.
Caquelin, Lagali, Larali, Mang Rouge [43] (cf. French : manglier, mangle). — Pomme Chique.

An epiphytic strangler tree of mountain rain-forests ; ranging in the Lesser Antilles from Dominica to Barbados.

Considerable confusion exists among the local names applied by the Creoles to this species of *Clusia*. Kakle or caquelin is the most frequent appellation but the name mang rouge is used at Bellevue, and larali (or lagali) [44] in the Carib Reserve.

The white sticky sap of *Clusia plukenetii* is infrequently used as an inferior bird-lime by Carib hunters. The aerial roots are sometimes employed in basketry and the wood makes an excellent fuel for a local type of improvised lime kiln used by both Carib and Creole. For a further use of this species see *Ipomoea pes-caprae*.

[223 285 372]

Specimen citation : 3206, 3251.

Mammea americana Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 512. 1753.
Mamey, Mammee-Apple. — *masioui*.

A large handsome tree native to the West Indies but widely planted in the tropics for its edible fruit.

The strong durable wood of the mamey is used occasionally for posts, piling, and general construction (50) ; the fruit is eaten raw after soaking in wine and sugar (18), or is used to make an excellent marmalade. In the neighboring French Antilles the flowers, distilled in spirit, make a liqueur known as *eau créole* ; while « the gum, melted with fat, is applied to the sores made by chigoes » (18).

[313] [252 262]

Like species of *Ficus* and *Ceiba pentandra*, this species is considered by the Dominica Caribs to be the home of the « tree-spirit » (see discussion under *Ceiba*).

[176]

Specimen citation : no collection made.

Rheedia lateriflora Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 1193. 1753.
Hat Stand Tree (67). — Bois Chica.

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[43] Not to be confused with another non epiphytic tree, *Tovomita plumieri* more generally known by this name.

[44] A tree called lagli or la glu, *Sapium caribaeum*, should not be confused with this species of *Clusia*.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

Passiflora spp.

X824 Passion-Flower. — Pomme de Liane Zombie, Trois Quarts.

Several subherbaceous trailing species of this genus, including at least *P. andersonii* DC. and *P. rubra* L., are common on Dominica and are called trois quarts, apparently indiscriminately. The Island Carib women boil the stem and leaves of these plants and [853] the resulting decoction is drunk to induce lactation. A more complicated tea for the same purpose but using certain additional plants is described under *Annona muricata*.

Specimen citation: 127 (T), 470, 3081, 3284 (*Passiflora rubra*); 3348, 3580 (*P. andersonii*).

CARICACEAE. Papaya Family.

Carica papaya Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 1036. 1753.

Papaya, Papaw. — *ababai*.

A number of horticultural varieties of the papaya exist; these are widely cultivated and spontaneous in tropical America, but their original homeland in this hemisphere remains unknown.

X824 The green (unripe) fruit is boiled and eaten by the Island ● 252 Caribs as a vegetable; the ripe fruit is eaten raw. A green fruit, [278] half-baked in hot embers, is split in two, and one half is then applied while hot as a poultice to any local inflammation. Raw meat or fowl is often wrapped in the leaves, for a digestive enzyme, papain, contained therein renders it more tender when cooked.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

BEGONIACEAE. Begonia Family.

X824 **Begonia dominicalis** A. DeCandolle ex Grisebach, Fl. Br. W. I. 304, 1860, sensu lat.

Dominica Begonia. — L'Oseille.

A tall begonia commonly found in the moist ravines and wet forests of Dominica and Guadeloupe.

[278] The leaves and flowers of l'oseille (see also *Episcia melittifolia*) are employed by the Caribs as well as by the Creoles to make a tea for colds.

Specimen citation: 472, 473, 3312.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X824 Varieties of this species are cultivated for their fruits throughout the warm and tropical regions of both hemispheres.

[263] The Island Caribs generally cultivate pepper plants near their houses. The fruits are utilized both as a relish and for seasoning [278] sauces. It is also said that the expressed juice of the fruit (dropped into the eyes) was used formerly in cases of ophthalmia. Pounded pepper leaves, mixed with shark oil, are employed in the making of poultices for wounds and sores.

Specimen citation : no herbarium material collected.

Nicotiana tabacum Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 180. 1753.

Tobacco, Tabac Pays. — *iúli*, *iúri* (w), *itámăle* (m).

The tobacco plant, a native of tropical America is cultivated throughout the world.

[249] The Caribs grow this plant less today than formerly. Tobacco smoke is blown on ailing infants by midwives and other old women in order to make them well and strong. Tobacco juice is used as [278] an emetic, and was formerly drunk in dangerous quantities by [787] neophyte piai-men and candidates for chieftainship, both as a trial of endurance and « in order to see visions ». Powdered to- [782] bacco [the leaves were dried near the hearth fire (7)] was burnt on the blade of a paddle as a propitiatory offering to the « Maitre Tête-Chien » (anthropomorphic chief of all tête-chiens, the local boa snake (*Constrictor orophias*) and other spirits. It was also [276] used as a narcotic (for pleasure) by placing a little powder or a dried piece of the leaf, together with wood ash and moistened with sea water, between the inner surface of the lip and the gum (7).

Specimen citation : 151 (T).

Solanum melongena Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 186. 1753.

Egg Plant. — Belongène.

The egg plant is apparently native to southern Asia, but was introduced early from Spain to America (21). It is now widely cultivated in all tropical and subtropical regions.

[262] Caribs grow this species for its fruits which they eat chiefly in the boiled form. The plant is sometimes grafted on the weedy [252] « batard belongène » (*Solanum torvum*).

Specimen citation : no herbarium material collected.